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TRANSACTIONS PART X.

THE 100TH PRINCE OF WALES ROYAL CANADIAN REGIMENT
Major Henry Gorman

THE FOURTH MIDDLESEX MILITIA REGIMENT
Sheriff D. M. Cameron

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN LONDON BEFORE 1860
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S. Frank Glass

RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONDON MILITARY SCHOOL
Rev. G. M. Cox

1919
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THE 100th PRINCE OF WALES ROYAL CANADIAN REGIMENT

BY MAJOR HENRY GORMAN, SARNIA

Read before the London and Middlesex Historical Society, May 20, 1902.

The outbreak of the great mutiny among the native troops in the service of the East India Co., in India in the summer of 1857, and the fiendish atrocities perpetrated by the mutineers and natives generally, startled and shocked the British nation to an extent that no other event within present recollection has equalled. The mutinous troops were officered by British officers, who, with their wives and children, were stationed with their regiments in widely scattered garrisons and cantonments throughout India. On a June morning in 1857 secretly fixed upon by the leaders of the mutiny, the native troops while on parade, turned upon their officers, murdered them in cold blood, and then proceeded to put to death the innocent and unsuspecting women and children. In many instances the massacre of the helpless females and infants was accompanied by outrages most inhuman in their character and revolting in the devilish spirit of savagery with which they were carried out. News travelled slowly in those days, and it was months before the full extent or seriousness of the outbreak with the ghastly story of its accompanying massacres was received in England and later in Canada. A thrill of horror and indignation swept over the empire and nowhere with greater intensity or tenser desire for revenge than in the two provinces of Canada East and West—now known as Quebec and Ontario, of the Dominion of Canada. The peril to British supremacy in the East and in the eyes of the subject nations in all parts of the world, as well as to the standing of Great Britain as a leading world power, was quickly realized. The little Canada of that day was as prompt to see the threatened danger to the British Empire, and was as eager to strengthen the hands of the mother country in the conflict forced upon her, as was Canada of 1899, when Kruger's insolent ultimatum and the invasion of British South Africa colonies by his boastful commandos, forced Great Britain to engage once more in a death struggle for the maintenance of its imperial authority and supremacy to vindicate the national honor and dignity. Agitation throughout the country during the fall of 1857 had its influence on the Canadian Government and Parliament. An offer of a regiment was made to the Government of Great Britain, and on the 3rd of March, 1858, authority was given to Sir Edmund Head, Governor General of Canada, for raising a regiment in the two Canadian provinces, to be added to and form part of the regular foot regiments of the British army. Its numerical rank and designation was the 100th, and its distinctive title "The Prince of Wales' Royal Canadian Regiment of Foot." It is stated in British army records that it was the sixth body to bear that numerical rank. The new regiment was

authorized to bear as badges the Prince of Wales plume and coronet, surrounded by the garter, with the mottoes of the Prince and the order of the garter, together with the maple leaf and beaver. The uniform was scarlet, with royal blue facings, trimmed with lace of the maple leaf pattern. Twelve companies of one hundred men were enlisted for ten years' service, (not exceeding twelve). Commissions were allotted in Canada for one major, six captains, six lieutenants and four ensigns, under the following conditions: The major to recruit at his own expense 200 men; each captain 80 men, and each lieutenant 40 men, the balance of the 1200 to be recruited at the public expense. The pay and conditions of service wre the same as then prevailed in the British army, and were much inferior to what is allowed the British soldiers of the present day. Capt. Bruce, of London, a retired regular army officer, was at first authorized to enlist the quota necessary to qualify as major of the regiment. He transferred his rights to the majority to Alex. R. Dunn, of Toronto, a young Canadian who had distinguished himself in the famous charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, being at that time a lieutenant in the 11th Hussars, and only 19 years of age. He was awarded the Victoria Cross for conspicuous bravery in a feat of arms that has immortalized as heroes all who took part in it. The particular acts for which young Dunn was unanimously recommended by the officers and men of his regiment for the coveted V. C., were as follows:

On the return from the mad charge in which the 11th with the rest of the Light Cavalry Brigade cut its way through the Russian batteries and supporting cavalry and fought its way back again, Dunn's horse had been shot under him. He sprang upon one that was rushing riderless about the field, and then seeing Sergt. Bentley of his regiment beset by three Russian lancers, he attacked them and shot and sabred the three—saving the life of the sergeant. A little farther on a Russian hussar officer was in the act of sabering Private Levett, when Dunn rushed upon him and slew him. Dunn was a magnificent specimen of athletic Canadian manhood. He was a handsome looking man 6 feet 2 inches in height, splendidly developed and acknowledged to be one of the most expert swordsmen and pistol shots in the army. He was born in Toronto, the second son of Hon. John H. Dunn, for 20 years Receiver General of Canada. His mother was a Quebec lady, one of the Duchesnay family. He was educated at Upper Canada College, Toronto. I may digress from my present subject to say that in 1864 Dunn was transferred to the 33rd as Colonel in command. In the campaign against King Theodore of Abyssinia, and on the eve of the assault and capture of Magdala, Dunn was killed while on a hunting trip a short distance from the camp. The details of his death have ever remained a mystery.

Major Bruce reverted to a captaincy, but owing to the

death of his son at Quebec, who had enlisted in the 100th, and was promoted to a sergeantcy, he resigned his commission and returned to London, where he spent the rest of his days.

The captaincies settled upon Canadian officers went to T. Clarke, of Toronto; John Clarke, of Montreal; Bruce, of London; McCartney, of Paris; Smythe, of Brockville, and Price, of Quebec. The lieutenants were Fletcher, DeBellefeuille, Cassault, Duchesnay, Carriere and Brown Wallis—all, with the exception of the latter from the province of Canada East (Quebec). The ensigns were C. A. Boulton, afterwards Senator Boulton; J. G. Ridout, Ryhert, Baldwin and Clarke. On Bruce's retirement, Fletcher became captain, and Davidson, of Hamilton, was appointed lieutenant.

The regiment was mainly mobilized at Montreal, under Col. Rollo; then I think, Adjutant-Gen. of H. M. forces in Canada, but permanent command was given to Colonel the Baron DeRottenburg, an experienced army officer, at that time in command of the Canadian militia, then in a crude state, and taking its first steps in organization and some attempt at training. His wife, the Baroness, was a Canadian lady, a daughter of Dr. Ridley, of Brockville or Belleville. The 17th Regt. (now the Leicestershires) was then stationed in Montreal, and the recruits were taken in charge by non-commissioned officers of that regiment and instructed in the elementary principles of drill. The 17th also furnished the 100th its first adjutant, Lieut. Lee; its first Quartermaster, Grant; its first Sergeant Major, Arthur Taylor, and its first Quartermaster-Sergeant, Wm. Smith, who afterwards became Quartermaster of the regiment, and on retiring, settled in the neighborhood of Byron, near London, Ont., where he died. The other officers of the regiment, required to complete the establishment of twelve companies, were posted from various regiments in the British army, several of them being promoted to higher rank in the 100th for distinguished services in the Crimean and Indian wars. Those gazetted were: To be Captains:—Capt. and Brevet Major T. M. Weguelin, 56th Foot; Capt. P. G. B. Lake, 2nd West Indian Regt.; Lieutenants Henry Cook, 32nd Foot, Jas. Clery, 32nd Foot and H. G. Brown, 32nd Foot.

To be lieutenants:—Lieut. G. B. Coulson, 49th Foot; Lieut. J. Lee, 17th Foot; to be Adjutant, Lieut. J. Lambe, 50th Foot, Lieut. F. W. Benwell, 33rd Foot; Lieut. H. L. Nicholls, 39th Foot; Lieut. J. Dooley, 17th Foot; Liuet. R. J. Bayliff, 83rd Foot; Sergt. Major Morris of the School of Musketry, Hythe, was appointed Musketry Instructor, with the rank of Lieutenant.

The regiment was not armed or regularly uniformed until after it reached England. On arrival at Montreal the recruits were dressed in militia uniforms that had been in store since the rebellion of 1837, and some as far back as 1812. These consisted of a red coatee, swallow tailed, with cloth epaulettes, and plentifully braided across the breast with white tape; black trou-

sers with red stripe and a round cap of blue black stuff, without peak, and of uncouth appearance and proportions, the whole outfit rather tending to make the men objects of ridicule and sport whenever they appeared. The cloth, as might be expected, was exceedingly tender with age and from the ravages of moths, and in the course of a few weeks, as a result of much horse play and rough usage, there was not a complete uniform in the regiment. By the time the men reached England they were in rags.

From Montreal, on the opening of navigation early in May, the regiment went to Quebec, where it was stationed in the citadel barracks, the 39th British regiment occupying the Jesuit barracks. On the 18th of June, 1858, the first four companies of the regiment, under Col. DeRottenburg, left the citadel and embarked on the Allan line steamship Indian, for Liverpool, where they disembarked on or about the 1st of July. The remainder of the regiment, four companies at a time, and at a fortnight's interval, made the Atlantic passage in the Allan Steamships Anglo Saxon and Nova Scotian. From Liverpool the detachments, as they landed, were taken by train to Shorncliffe camp on the Kent chalk cliffs, between Folkestone and Hythe, where they were welcomed by the bands of the North Down rifles and 4th Rifle Brigade, and the men of the brigade then in camp, who were unable to conceal their amusement at the extraordinary appearance the new comers presented in the tattered uniforms of their grandfathers. Peals of laughter crowded out the cheers that regiments so heartily accord new arrivals in garrison or camp. It was August before the last of the 100th reached Shorncliffe, and by that time those who were the first to arrive had been served out with the orthodox Tommy Atkins tunic and accessories, and were as ready to join in the laugh at the late arrivals' calithumpian procession as were the regulars then in camp when they first set eyes on the Canadian rookies. Fifty of the best drill sergeants from the regiments of Foot Guards were sent to train the 100th, and in what was, to the regular British soldier, a marvellously short time, the regiment was able to take its place alongside the veteran regiments of the regular army and to win the highest praise from inspecting generals. The Duke of Cambridge was the first high authority to inspect the 100th, as it came from the hands of the army clothiers and the drill sergeants. He was immensely taken with its appearance. Its physique and youthful vigor impressed him greatly, and company after company heard his outspoken words of praise and approval as he passed down the line. In January, 1859, the Prince of Wales—the late King Edward—visited the regiment, and performed the first public act of his life—the presentation of a stand of colors to the regiment, bearing their royal patron's devices, side by side with the maple leaf and beaver, to which was subsequently added the word "Niagara" in commemoration of the brilliant and devoted services in America of the fourth 100th Regiment during the

wars in the latter part of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. That regiment was known as the 100th (Prince Regent's) Regiment and was disbanded in Canada in 1818. From Shorncliffe the 100th regiment was sent to Aldershot to be trained in division and army corp movements. Here her late Majesty the Queen, of happy memory, passed them in review, and did them the honor of selecting the regiment to furnish her guard at the Pavilion during her stay in camp. Twelve months at Aldershot was then considered necessary to a regiment's fitness for foreign or field service, but so apt were the Royal Canadians under the command of Col. DeRottenburg, who proved to be one of the best posted commanding officers in the service, that less than twelve weeks sufficed to put them in shape to pass a rigid field day test and inspection before the Duke of Cambridge and the generals and staff in command at the camp. A week later the regiment was under orders for Gibraltar. Meantime the Indian mutiny had collapsed and the services of the regiment were not required for the purpose for which it was raised. The 100th had to content itself with the monotony of garrison duty in Gibraltar from 1859 to 1864, and Malta from 1864 to 1866. It suffered to some extent from cholera during its stay in Gibraltar, but a virulent epidemic of the plague swept over Malta while it was stationed there and nearly 200 of its number fell victims to the pestilence. A marble monument, the finest in the old Maltese cemetery, outside the Porto des Bombes, Floriana, erected by subscriptions from the officers and men of the regiment, marks the resting place of the Canadian boys who died there while in the service of the Queen and empire. The breaking out of the Fenian troubles on this continent and the raid into Canada led to an urgent appeal from the 100th to the War Office authorities to be sent to the defence of its native land, and in compliance therewith the regiment left Malta for Canada to find on arrival that the Fenian bubble had been exploded, and that the dangers of invasion were at an end. Here the regiment remained until 1869. By that time the ten years service of the original members of the 100th had expired and with comparatively few exceptions all took their discharges and settled in Canada. To curtail expenses in 1861 the British Government recalled the recruiting staff from Canada and stopped enlistment for the regiment in this country. The Canadian character of the 100th had therefore changed considerably by the time it was sent back to Canada, and with the discharges of the time expired men it had almost entirely disappeared. From that on, interest in its movements gradually died out in this country. Few now know that after its return from Canada to England was sent to India, where it served for eighteen years, and that on the reorganization of the British army into territorial regiments and linked battalions, it was changed from a Canadian into an Irish regiment and is now know as the 1st Battalion of the Leinster Regt., although still retaining the Cana-

dian badges and honors of the 100th on its colors. An effort was made in '97 by the late Senator Boulton and other original members of the 100th, to bring about the repatriation of the 100th; to constitute it once more a Canadian regiment, with its historic title of Prince of Wales' Royal Canadians, and to recruit its ranks in Canada. Negotiations were epened with the Canadian and Imperial authorities and the result was the adoption by them of a scheme for the restoration of the 100th as a purely Canadian regiment. The presence of the 1st Leinsters (old 100th) at Halifax made the time for the change particularly opportune, but just as it was about to be put into effect, the Boer war in South Africa broke out and more serious matters claimed the attention of the War Office and our own military authorities. The Leinsters were sent to South Africa to take part in the war, and their place was taken at Halifax by a Canadian raised regiment designated the 3rd Batt. of the Royal Canadian Regt.

Before leaving this part of my subject I might say that while the 100th retained its distinctly Canadian character—up to 1862 when recruiting in Canada was stopped—and for a few years later, it distinguished itself wherever it went for its soldierly qualities, outranking all other corps with which it came in contact in physique, drill and marksmanship. Its first year's musketry course was at Hythe, the school of musketry near Shorncliffe. Its figure of merit excelled that of every other corps there and that year it stood 12th in the whole British army— a remarkable record for a regiment of recruits. The next year it did part of its annual musketry practice at Aldershot, where it came in competition with the Guards and ohter famous British regiments; and part at Gibraltar, where four other line regiments were stationed. It scored higher averages at Aldershot and Gibraltar than any of the other regiments and ranked seventh that year in the whole army. The year following it led the garrison at Gibraltar in marksmanship and stood third in the British army. And so for some years after—always easily first over those who competed with it directly, but as surely being kept out of first place by the record of some regiment stationed in one or other of the remote corners of the globe; at which the British regiments have in their turn to do sentinel duty. In athletics and sports of all kinds, except perhaps cricket, it carried off a large share of the honors in garrison contests. A notable instance of the regiment's prowess was given at Gibraltar in 1860. The war between Spain and Morocco that year had brought to Gibraltar bay the combined Mediterranean fleets of Great Britain, France and Spain, and representative warships of all the other European powers. A regatta was arranged, open to all, and was taken part in by crews from the warships and from the regiments in garrison. The chief rowing event was a four-oared race, in best and best boats, with coxswain. The 100th crew won against all comers, though handicapped with a 200 pound coxswain in the person of Sergt.-

Major Rance, who insisted that the honor of being steersman was his by right, he being the head of the non-commissioned staff of the regiment. The oarsmen who were first to establish Canadian aquatic supremacy abroad were, on that occasion, Sergt. Hemphill, of Port Stanley; Sergt. Henderson, of Toronto; Sergt. McDonald, of Kingston, and Sergt. Drummond, of Quebec.

The regiment, as might be expected, contained men of all ranks and conditions in life, as well as representatives of many nationalities. The average of intelligence was high and this had a marked effect upon the rapidity with which it acquired proficiency in drill. Wherever stationed in the earlier years of its existence drafts were repeatedly made upon it for artisans and mechanics to assist the engineer department in its work, and while at Gibraltar, on several occasions the men's services came in useful as interpreters in Russian and the several Scandinavian and German languages and dialects. It was a regiment of which Canadians had many reasons to feel proud. An officer of the Leinsters, in the course of correspondence with the writer of this paper on the subject of repatriation, in answer to a letter of mine written about the time of the departure of the 1st Contingent for South Africa, wrote:

"I feel certain the Canadian contingent will rather astonish our people in South Africa, who as a rule are grieviously ignorant of the real worth and abilities of Colonials. I assure you it delights me exceedingly to read what you write about the 100th Canadians of your time. (Their superior intelligence and physique, the high standard they attained in drill and marksmanship, etc.) It only bears out what I have heard said about the regiment by soldiers of all ranks, and of all sorts of corps who knew the 100th in the good old days."

And this but echoed the opinions expressed by many others I have met who had opportunities of seeing the regiment in its prime, and when it was in reality as well as in name, thoroughly Canadian. Its valor was never tested on the battlefield, greatly to the disappointment of all ranks in the regiment. It was reserved for the younger generation to show what stuff Canadian soldiers are made and what they are capable of doing in the face of the enemy.

The colors presented by the Prince of Wales, after being carried by the regiment from England to Gibraltar, Malta, Canada, back to England, from there to India, and again back to the old country, were sent to Canada and their tattered remnants are preserved in the library of Parliament at Ottawa.

I will now turn to what will prove of more value and interest to your society—London's share in the formation of the 100th Regiment.

Recruiting for the 100th began in London early in March, under the direction of Lieut. Melville, of the Royal Canadian Rifles, whose headquarters were then in Toronto, assisted by

Sergt. Conroy, of the same corps. Among the first to enlist were Wm. Hudson, who had previously served as sergeant in the Wexford militia when it was called out for garrison duty in Ireland during the Crimean war, and Wm. Smith, a sergeant in Shanly's battery, then in the third year of its existence. Their services were engaged as recruiting sergeants by Major Bruce, and in uniform, with tri-colored rosettes and ribbons in their caps, accompanied by fifer and drummer, they beat up for recruits, not only in the city, but in the surrounding country, as far west as Sarnia, Windsor and Malden, and north to Stratford and Goderich. At that time a company of Enrolled Pensioners, veterans of the British army, which was embodied to do garrison duty in London, on the withdrawal of the regular troops in 1853, consequent upon the then pending war in the Crimea, occupied the old frame barracks located at the north end of what is now Victoria Park. It was under command of Captain Hodgetts. The non-commissioned officers and men of this force took part in the recruiting service, a bonus being paid by the officer to whose credit the recruits were placed, for every man they enlisted. To the barracks the recruits from the city and surrounding country were brought for medical examination, and if found to come up to the physical requirements, for attestation. In batches of tens and twenties, the young recruits, in the motley garb of civil life, were forwarded to Toronto, where they were joined by those enlisted in that city and district, and every two or three days a mob of these would be marched off to the railway station, headed by the band of the Royal Canadian Rifles for their destination at Montreal. There were no cheering crowds, no presentations of watches or addresses, no brass bands, no bouquets, as the budding heroes took their departure from London. Military zeal and enthusiasm had not the hold on the people then that it has now. The few military corps in existence at that time stood second in importance and popularity to the old volunteer fire brigades of that period, and it was only comparatively few in the community who had sufficient military ardor to join the volunteers and who had the ability and the willingness to pay for the privilege of joining under the scant encouragement then offered by the Canadian government. The government provided arms and accoutrements for the volunteers, and a small annual drill allowance. The men had to pay for their uniforms. There were then in existence in London Shanly's half battery of artillery; Capt. River's troop of cavalry; Capt. Hammond's No. 1 Co. of Rifles; and Capt. Barker's No. 2 Rifle Co. I cannot give with absolute accuracy the names of the London men who enlisted in the 100th, nor the number that was recruited in the London district, but I think I can reasonably claim that about 200 of the 1200 who formed the Canadian regiment were from London and surrounding country.

Of those who belonged to the city itself, I can recall the following names : Wm. Hudson, Wm. Smith, Richard Nugent, John

McDowell, Ed. Hill, Robt. Allen, Jas. Ward, Jabez Richardson, Henry Gorman, Eli Clark, H. Lawford,—Foster, Robt. Shaw, John Dobney, Pat. Brennan, Thos. Bayles, Chas. Lee, Edward Emery, Thos. James, Wm. Elliott, Chas. McGrady,—Horner, and —McGarvey.

The following came out in subsequent drafts, joining the regiment after it had gone on foreign service: Phil Costen, Hobbs, Templeton, Smallman and Harry Salter.

Of the above, Smith , Foster, Gorman, McDowell, Richardson, and Hill belonged to Shanly's battery. I am not able to say to what corps, if any, the rest of the men belonged. But few of these men are now living. Hudson returned to live in London; attained the rank of major and died in that city a few years ago. Robt. Allen is still living, a respected citizen of London. McDowell and McGrady died while on frontier service at Windsor with the London company stationed there during the Fenian raid. Dobney and Brennan were members of the London 7th during the Fenian excitement of 1870. Both are dead. Ward died in London. Bayles joined the 7th on his return from the 100th and formed one of the Red River expidition under Gen. Wolseley. Nugent, a brother-in-law of Hudson, and Lawford joined the Army Service Corps on its formation while the 100th was in Aldershot in 1859 and went out to Australia or New Zealand. Richardson purchased his discharge while in Gibraltar, went back to England where his parents lived, studied for the ministry and became a Methodist clergyman. Emery returned to London and died there. Smallman and Salter are still living in London.

The only one of the London boys who, as far as my knowledge extends, re-enlisted and served the full term in the regiment to entitle him to a pension, was Eli Clark. I learned of his whereabouts from the London, (Eng.) Graphic, September, 1897, which contained portraits of Eli Clark, his wife and six sons, all of the latter then serving in the Leinster Regt. (old 100th). Accompanying the illustration in the Graphic was the following intersting sketch:

The portraits of the Clark family make an interesting and unique group, the father and his six sons all having served in the same regiment. The father, Eli Clark, joined the 100th Prince of Wales' Royal Canadians, at London, Ont., on March 16, 1858, on the formation and raising of that regiment there, in that year. Eli Clark went through the usual non-commissioned grades, viz., from corporal to color-sergeant, between May 1858 and May 1864. He obtained his discharge on the termination of his first period of service, on March 22nd, 1868, and re-enlisted at the same place on Aug. 4 of that year. He again went through the N. C. O. grades between August, 1868 and July, 1869. Subsequently he held the appointment of Provost and Canteen Sergeant, and was discharged on a modified pension of two shillings and two pence per day on Oct. 18, 1877. He has the medal for

good conduct and long service, and on March 31, 1896, resigned the post of canteen steward, 35th Regimental District, which he held for seventeen years and six months. His six sons now serving in the Prince of Wales' Leinster regiment (Royal Canadians) are as follows:

Sergeant Instructor of Musketry, Albert E. Clark, 1st Leinster Regiment (Tipperary), twelve years' service; Sergeant Eli Clark, 100th Regimental District (Birr), seven years' service; Corporal James Clark, 2nd Leinster Regiment (Bermuda), five years' service; Corporal Arthur Clark, 1st Leinster Regiment, (Tipperary), nineteen years' service; Lance Corporal Charles Clark, 1st Leinster Regiment (Tipperary), one year's service.

Of the six sons five are non-commissioned officers, and the other will in due time be promoted; at present he has scarcely enough service for advancement. It will be observed that there are four brothers serving in the 1st Battalion (the old 100th), one in the 2nd Battalion, and one in the depot, 100th Regimental District.

I might also mention that Clark was something of an athlete in his youth. For two years in succession he won the mile foot-race at the annual garrison sports, in Gibraltar, in competition with the champion runners of all the other regiments stationed on the rock at that time. The year before Clark first carried off the event, Charles Boyce, of the 100th, an Elgin county boy, won the mile race.

The writer of this looks back upon the years he spent as a Canadian soldier in the British army with unalloyed satisfaction, and cherishes a warm feeling of love for, and pride in his old regiment.

In concluding this imperfect sketch of a subject of such historic importance as the raising in the old provinces of Canada of the first regiment of Canadians for foreign service in the British army, I feel that the subject is worthy of a better qualified historian, one in a position to have access to the public and regimental records, so that all the facts connected with the formation of the regiment, the names of those who joined its ranks, and its subsequent history might be given on the authority of official records. Such facts as I have been able to give are mainly drawn from memory, and must necessarily be more or less inaccurate and incomplete, though I believe they are more nearly correct than any of the occasional sktches relating to the old 100th that I have seen in print.

(Note)--The writer of the above paper was born in Halifax, N. S., Feb. 6, 1839—his father being at that time Sergeant-Librarian in the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusileers. He came with the regiment to London in 1843 and when his father left the service in 1847 the family settled here permanently. Mr. Gorman's education was obtained in the London Public Schools, chiefly

under the late Nicholas Wilson. He was apprenticed to the Free Press in 1853. Being naturally interested in military affairs he joined Col. Shanly's Battery of Artillery; and on the organization of the 100th Regiment was one of the first to enlist, serving in Canada, England and Gibraltar, attaining the rank of sergeant, and securing his discharge by purchase in 1861. Returning to London, he found the war between North and South in the United States had commenced. Soon after the "Trent Affair" awoke military enthusiasm in Canada, and the volunteer militia received an impetus on account of the danger of a rupture with Britain. Mr Gorman rejoined his old battery, with the rank of sergeant. When the 7th Regiment was organized in 1865-66 he received a commission as Lieutenant in No. 1 company and was advanced by 1874 to the position of major, which he held until he left London in 1879 to take over the publication of the Sarnia Observer. In 1899 he was appointed Police Magistrate of Sarnia, and still holds that position, though he has retired from the newspaper business. During his residence in London in the Seventies he was well-known locally as an active member of the old Tecumsehs.—the baseball team which acquired an international reputation at that time.

THE FOURTH MIDDLESEX MILITIA REGIMENT

BY SHERIFF D. M. CAMERON

Read by Sheriff D. M. Cameron before the London and Middlesex Historical Society on February 18, 1913.

On the division of the old Province of Quebec into the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada by the Imperial Act 31, George III, Chapter 31, and the concession of a measure of representative government, Parliament, which met at Niagara on the 17th day of September, 1792, undertook the organization of courts for the trial of causes, the establishment of district boundaries and the representation of the Province in Parliament. In the following year 1793 "An act for the better regulation of the Militia in this province" was passed and as far as I am able to discover is the first provision made dealing with the matter of defence. Until then the protection of the province was entirely in the hands of the Imperial authorities but the granting of the degree of responsible government by the statute referred to led the young province to take measures for the organization of a militia system and that is the precursor of the system of defence prevailing in Canada to-day. The act referred to, Chapter I. of the Second Session of the first Provincial Parliament (1793.) was subsequently amended by Chap. VII of 34 George III and Chap. V. of 37 George III. (1797). Chapter I. of the first Session of the 3rd. Provincial Parliament (1801) made regulations respecting "the better securing of the province against the King's enemies" and Chapter 2 was passed for the further regulation of the militia of the province. In the 4th. session of the 4th. Parliament, being 48th. George III. 1808, there was passed as Chapter I of the acts of that Session the Statute "An act to explain, amend and reduce to one act of Parliament, the several laws now in being for the raising and training the militia of this Province." This enactment passed on the 16th of March, 1808, being 48 George III, is that under which the militia of this Province was enrolled in the glorious exploits of Lundy's Lane, Queenston Heights, and elsewhere. They, in support of the regular forces, saved the Province to the empire. The enactment provided for the muster under arms of every male inhabitant between 16 and 60 years of age and his enrolment in the division or limit in which his name may be on the training day on which his company shall be drawn out but all over 50 years of age were exempted from service except on training day or in time of war or emergency. The 4th of June in each year, not being Sunday and in that event on the day succeeding that being the King's birthday, was appointed as the day of annual training but that was changed on the death of George III to the 23rd of April in each year by Sect. 2 of 2 George IV, Chap. 3, the birthday of the then reigning sovereign. It was further enacted by 48 George III that each company shall be drawn out by their respective commanding officers at least twice but not

more than four times in each year when arms are to be inspected and under penalty in case of failure to attend, for officers of forty shillings and enrolled men of ten shillings for disobedience without lawful excuse. In case of war or emergency special means of mobilization were provided but no militiaman was required to remain on active service for more than six months at any one time, but each militiaman when called out shall provide himself with a musket and six rounds of powder and ball. The amendment to the Act by 2nd George IV relieved militiamen of the obligation to provide ammunition. At the same time Quakers, Mennonites or Tunkers were excused from service in the militia but were instead required to contribute in time of peace twenty shillings and in times of actual invasion twenty pounds as the price of their exemptions from service. These contributions and all penalties under the act were to be applied to the furnishing of fifes, drums, colors and regimental books and the surplus if any to the encouragement of target shooting in their respective regiment.

By Chap. 2 of 49 George 111 (1809) provision was made by Parliament for impressing such horses, carriages, oxen as the exigencies of war might demand and the same statute also required that every householder "shall furnish the troops on actual service with horse room, fire and utensils for cooking" and while on the march "billeting the militia" in such manner as may be "most commodious to the inhabitants." Provision was made by subsequent acts for the pensioning of soldiers invalided in the war of 1812-1815 and for the maintenance of the widows or orphans of those who lost their life in the engagements of that war besides a grant towards the erection of a monument to Sir. Isaac Brock but the enactments already referred to were those in force at the time the 4th Battalion Middlesex Militia was formed and to which this paper is intended more specifically to deal.

It is interesting in this connection to note, though not genmane to the subject, that by the Imperial Statute Chapter 27 of 30 George 111 "An act for the encouraging new settlers in his Majesty's Colonies and plantations in America" the importation and holding of slaves in the then province af Quebec (later Upper and Lower Canada) was made permissible after the first day of August, 1790, on the part of any person being a subject of the United States who came from thence to settle in the then Province of Quebec.

I have traced in some detail the organization of our militia forces in Upper Canada from 1792 when the duty of protecting the Province was first assumed by its citizens on their being accorded representative government by the Imperial act of that year.

The Regiment of Middlesex Militia was embodied under the Act passed in the Second Parliament of Upper Canada (1793) and its amendments, but my records are very imperfect prior

to 1822 when the late Sheriff Hamilton, then James Hamilton, Esquire, of Sterling, was given the chief command. His commission was dated the 18th June, 1822, when the regiment was organized from the provisional basis under which it until then existed. Previously the militia of this section existed largely in name and under genearl statutory provisions which contemplated the muster of all able-bodied men between 18 and 60 as liable for duty in the event of a call to arms. I have no records to show as to the extent to which the Western Peninsula was called upon for service in the war of 1812-15 though it is known that the militia forces that operated on the Western frontier in the engagement of that period including the capture of Detroit, contained among their members men from the Western districts. Nor have I available, if such existed, any orderly room books that would convey in concrete form the enrolment of the force during the years succeeding 1822 and during which Col. Hamilton retained command. But there is a mass of correspondence and reports of the annual musters which afford means of disclosing conditions during the period named and afford besides an interesting disclosure of the names of settlers in the London District within the same time. The regiment under Col. Hamilton's command appears strictly speaking to have been the 4th or Middlesex regiment, composed of four battalions, the active force of the organization being originally composed of all British subjects capable of bearing arms and residing within the district. Subsequently, under an order of the 4th May, 1830, issued by N. Coffin, Adjutant General of militia, under instructions from the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, the attendance of the reserve battalions at muster parade each year was dispensed with until further orders. In forwarding this order to Major Schofield, commanding the second battalion, Col. Hamilton directs under date of the 18th May, 1830, that the men of the battalion under his command do muster on the 4th. June next "at the usual time and place; viz., 12 o'clock a. m. and at the Forks of the River Thames". So much for the position and prominence of London on the map at that date. At the same time the Adjutant General's order was dated "York, U. Canada" and previous general orders received by Col. Hamilton from the same office in "York, U. Canada" are endorsed by postage 9d. Letter communications cost something for postage in these days. Col. Hamilton was gazetted to the Command of the Regiment under commission dated the 18th June, 1822. Lieut. Col. Daniel Springer, in command of one of the battalions of the regiment makes to his superior officer a return of the officers in his command. The return is dated "Delaware, 17th May, 1824" and is as follows; Major Ira Schofield; Captain J. S. Harrison; Simeon Bullen; Roswell Mount; Duncan McKenzie; Richard Talbot; Daniel Hine. In a communication addressed to the Adjutant General on the 4th. of the preceeding August, Col. Hamilton

recommends the appointment of Hiram Schofield as Adjutant, James Fisher, John Siddall, John T. Jones, William Geary and Thomas Lawrason as lieutenants and Archibald McFarlane, Daniel Campbell, William Putman, Thomas H. Summers, George Robson and Lawrence Lawrason as Ensigns. At the parade of 4th June, 1829, at the "Forks" there were mustered 415 of all ranks to which Capt. Harrison's Company, London, contributed 38 and Capt. Hines 37; Capt. Bullen's Company, Delaware had 33 on parade, Capt. Mount, London and Lobo 25, Capt. McKenzie, London 51, Capt. R. Talbot, Dorchester 39, Capt. E. Warren, Southwold 41, Capt. Thos. Lawrason, Dorchester 50, Capt. Wm. Doty, London 62 and Capt. E. A. Talbot 39.

Early in the history of the regiment communications passed with the Adjutant-general looking to the adoption of a distinctive uniform; apparently from the communications of that official of the 24th June, 1824, only officers' uniforms were contemplated. Under that date he informs Col. Hamilton that the Lieutenant Governor has sanctioned a design for the regiment which comprised "a gray or pepper and salt jacket, with collar and cuffs of black velvet, the breast collar and cuffs bound and looped with black cord; white knob buttons; trousers of gray cloth; hat round with green feather and cockade; sash, crimson silk with cords and tassels; waist belt, black; Sabre steel mounted and sword knot of green silk, green and silver mixed with knot of the same such as is worn by the Rifle brigade". This permission from the adjutant-general does not appear to have been taken advantage of for some time afterwards, if at all, as in a communication from Major Schofield, dated London, 24th December, 1831, it is recommended as the request of the officers that the uniform be changed from gray to green and the following foot note is added "Mr. Robertson leaves in a fw days for Scotland and will bring the cloth and trimmings for the jackets, should you allow the green in place of gray".

The earliest muster rolls to which I have access and possibly the earliest nominal roll of the regiment is that of 1824. In that year Thomas Lawrason's Company is returned on the then King's birthday, the 23rd of April, as comprising, Archibald McFarlane who was Lieutenant and Lawrence Lawrason ensign, all three Commissons entered as dated the 1st. and 10th. March in the same year. George Routledge and George Kennedy were Sergeants. The rank and file numbered 52 and among these were Andrew Taylor, Joseph Hodgins, Edward Charlton, Thomas Adamson, Robert Chambers, Thomas Miller, John Rusher junior, Benjamin Rusher, Robert Robson (grandfather of the present Captain Thomas Robson), Solomon Brident and Donald Munro, Kadmiel Moore, Thomas Carling, Abraham Hartwick, Thomas Morgan and Charles Avery.

In the return of "State of Arms" of this Company it appears

that none existed that "were issued by Government" while in respect of arms "the property of individuals" the same condition existed. There is a complete schedule provided as to "carbines" sabres, cartridge accoutrements, English muskets, English accoutrements, American muskets, American accoutrements and American bayonets but the same dearth exists and there were no rifles. In the return of Mennonites, Tunkers, Quakers and others exempt from Military duty there are no names while among the "other persons exempted" appear the names of Elijah Patrick and John Stevenson.

In the return of Capt. Hine's Company the names enrolled totalled 57 but there were 14 of that number absent and Thomas English Sr. was returned as a Quaker and exempt from service, Ira Schofield, (Major), endorses the return with the remark "Capt. Hines will not omit to see his company mustered on Lawrence's plain on Friday, the 17th instant, at the hour of 10 in the morning".

The return of Captain Harrison's Company shows in 1824 a total strength of 53 and at the muster on 23rd. of April that year there were 33 present and of the absentees 3 were reported "sick". Those present recall some well known family names among them Griffith, Hutchison, Shoebottom, Green, Birtch, Wiltsie, Hughes, Talbot, Fraelick, Decker, Woods, Taylor.

Captain Doty's Company, as mustered in the same year, appears to have been localized in Dorchester, judging from the names. Of this Company, in which the normal strength was 48, William Putman was Lieutenant and William Burgess Ensign; the Sergeants:—Harry Nelles and Silas Kemp and the names of William Niles, David Farley, James Campbell, James Lee, Noble English, besides four Pixleys,, three Perkin's, Callahans', Dills' and Kilbourne go to complete the muster roll.

The return of Captain Simeon Bullen's Company contained 53 names as its full strength and the other officers of the Company were John Siddall and Henry Warren. James Flock and William Kimble were Sergeants. The muster return reports 1764 rounds of ammunition in hand but no muskets, rifles, carbines or other implements of war. The names of Christopher Corsaut, John Ferguson, Thomas McFarlane, John Donaldson appear on the roll while Joseph Dill is reported as having His Excellency's discharge with a pension, possibly awarded for service in 1812. Captain Edward Talbot's Company mustered on the 23rd of April, 1824, with a strength of 50 of all ranks and 3 officers. Robert Webster was Lieutenant and Philip Harding, Ensign; John Wallis and Joseph O'Brien, Sergeants, while John Sifton, Ebenezar Kimble, Henry Corsaut, James Smibert, George McMahon, William Evans, Robert Ralph, William Paisley, Thomas Shoebottom, James Dickenson, Leonard Ardiel, William Powell, John McLeod, Adolphus and David Cale, Francis Lewis, Jacob Clark, John Hugh and James McGuffin,

many of whose descendants live in London Township to-day, are on the list.

In 1828 Lieutenant John Siddall reports for Captain Bullen's Company as to the nominal roll of the men subject to military duty under his command between the ages of 19 and 39 inclusive and the Siftons, Corsauts, McGuffins, Dickensons, Donaldsons, Guests, and Beltons appear on the list, some however for the first time.

Captain Roswell Mount of the 2nd. Company, London and Lobo, reports in 1825 a nominal roll of 50 non-commissioned officers and rank and file with three officers and a total muster of 42 and 11 absent. The names of many on the roll are familiar after 87 years and among these are those of Samuel Ramey a patronymic since then well represented in Caradoc and Metcalfe Townships, John and James Robson, George, Andrew and Richard Scott, John Meek, Ira Jarvis, Richard and Henry Edwards, Joseph H. Jaynes, David Morgan, Jeremiah Robson, George Ashwell, John Matthews and others. In 1828 the war fever is evidently subsiding as of a total strength in his Company of 52, only 22 are reported on parade and 21 absent without leave with the remainder reported "sick".

In Captain Doty's muster of the 23rd April, 1825, th first report appears of any present with arms, there being 20 of a total of 33 who answered to their names reported as "armed" . The names indicate as does the muster roll of 1824 that the Company was composed of residents of Nissouri and Dorchester. Captain Richard Talbot's muster records that 21 answered to their names at the yearly muster of 1825 and that William Geary and John Talbot were the subalterns in the corps. Captain Edward Talbot's Company reported a muster in 1825 of four present with arms, 38 without arms and among the names are those of the Fergusons, the McGuffins, Dickensons and Shoebottams, still familiar in London Township.

Regarding the muster in 1828 Major Schofield reports a very good muster, and that he gave the regiment a hearty drill of three hours after which the officers repaired to the house of A. Carrol in the village where dinner had been prepared. All complied with this arrangement except Capt. Harrison, Lieut. Jones and Lieut. Geary, who went to McGregor's instead. Of the conduct of these three Officers, the Commanding Officer reports that "their conduct appears so contemptuous that I do not consider it my duty to wait further for their returns" which appear to have been demanded after the parade but which were not furnished. The incidents of the day appear to have created so much friction as would indicate that these gentlemen were placed under arrest as Major Schofield in a subsequent clause of his reports remarks, "I hope that you may feel it consistent with your duty to remove the arrest with such a reprimand as you may deem expedient", remarking "I have arrested them for a positive

disobedience of orders and shall not be satisfied without a court of enquiry on their conduct". This he thought (in his further report to Col. Hamilton) "would be very useful to the organization of the corps, as Capt. Harrison and Lieut. Jones being old Veterans their being called to an explanation would put others on their guard. On the other hand he reports that Capt. Bullen took the command of his Company on the parade and behaved well though much annoyed because his commission was not among the others distributed on the Muster day. Subsequently Capt. Geary apologized for his seeming disobedience of orders. Apparently the incident as far as he was concerned was closed by his apology.

In 1829 a regimental order issued by Col. Hamilton appointed Capt. Daniel Hine in charge of the reserve of the 4th Middlesex regiment, with Lieutenant Archibald Mc Farlane and George Robson as subalterns, and officers in the 1st Battalion were required to make fair and correct "nominal returns" of all men within the present limits of their commands as are entitled to be included in the 2nd. battalion while new limits were to be assigned to the six companies in future to comprise the first battalion.

The distribution of officers as assigned under the order was as follows:—1st Rifle Company Capt. Joseph Harrison, Lieut. James Fisher and Ensign James Parkinson; 2nd Rifle Company Capt. Duncan McKenzie; Lieut. Wm. Robson; 1st. Company Capt. Simeon Bullen, Lieut. John Siddall, Ensign Wm. Burgess; 2nd. Capt. Roswell Mount, Lieut. Thos. J. Jones; Ensign Thos. H. Sumner; 3rd Company, Richard Talbot, Capt.; William Geary, Lieut.; John Talbot Jr., Ensign; 4th, E. E. Warren, Capt.; Nathaniel Jacobs, Lieut.; Lawrence Lawrason, Ensign; 5th Company, David Doty, Capt.; John Brayne, Lieut.; William Robb, Ensign; 6th Company, E. A. Talbot, Capt.; Robert Webster, Lieut.; Philip Harding, Ensign.

Reporting to Col. Hamilton on the 1st July 1830, Major Schofield complains of the conduct of some of the officers especially "Old Fitzgerald, who was very abusive to me on parade" when reading the Militia general order at the head of the Regiment. The second battalion, he adds, had not been called out on this parade, an omission due to a misunderstanding. he explains, of his instructions. This conduct on the part of some of the officers appears to have been condoned and overlooked but a previous continuancy on the part of some of those holding commissions appears to have led to more serious consequences. On the 10th of July 1829, Major Schofield issued an order to the effect that "Captain Edward Allen Talbot of the 4th Regiment Middlesex Militia will consider himself under an arrest until further orders and during the pleasure of the Colonel, for having in a seditious manner made such resistance to the late General order of Militia as to prevent the same being carried

into execution", first, for having disobeyed the written orders of the commanding Officer; second, for having advised sundry privates not to attend the last previous muster, that of the 4th of June 1829; third, for having resisted the proceedings of "a legal Court then sitting for the conviction of certain privates for disobedience of orders on the 4th June"; fourth, for having received composition moneys from sundry privates in said regiment after prosecution in open court, as a fine for disobedience of orders on the 4th June last; fifth, for having seduced sundry privates in said regiment who stand convicted of disobedience of orders on the 4th day of June last, to resist the payments of their respective fines.

The complaints enumerated were duly forwarded to the Adjutant General with an application from Captain Talbot for a Court Martial. This was conceded and under a letter dated 15th March, 1830, W. H. Draper, afterwards Chief Justice of Upper Canada, writes Col. Hamilton over the signature of "Judge Advocate" summonsing him to attend before the Court Martial as a witness. The Court Martial was ordered to assemble at St. Thomas, in the London district, on Monday, the 15th March, 1830, and the general order signed by Col. Coffin stated that it was convened on the prayer of Captain Edward E. Talbot of the 4th Regiment Middlesex Militia in order to meet charges preferred against him by Major Ira Schofield of the same regiment and in conformity to the Act of the 59th, George III., Chap. 12. The members convened were Lieut. Col. Ingersol, 1st Oxford; Lt. Col. Gilbert, 2nd Norfolk; Capt. Patterson, 1st Middlesex; Capt. Warren, 1st Middlesex; Capt. Draper, 2nd Middlesex; Capt. Potts, 1st Norfolk; Capt. Alway, 1st Oxford; Capt. Hy. Barkhorn, 2nd Middlesex; Lt. Col. Rapelgee, 1st Norfolk; Major McCall, 1st Norfolk; Capt. McQueen, 1st Middlesex; Capt. Williams, 2nd Middlesex; Capt. William Wilson, 2nd Norfolk; Capt. Whitehead, 1st Oxford; Capt. Walsh, 1st Norfolk; Capt. Campbell, 2nd Norfolk. Major William Henry Draper of the 1st Regiment of Durham Militia, already alluded to, was appointed to act as Judge Advocate and "to whom the list of evidence and dates of commission of the members are to be sent without delay." What became of this formidable proceeding I have no available means of knowing as no records with respect to its finding are among the papers from which I quote, but that there were still some recalcitrants is manifest by the return state of Capt Roswell Mount of his Company on the 4th June, 1830, when in the "Remarks" column he records that "John Matthews refused to obey when ordered by me to fall into the ranks."

The full strength of this Company mustered from London and Lobo is worth detailing. Reuben Simons and William Libby were Sergeants while the privates were: Samuel Raney, Richard Edwards, Henry Edwards, George Alway, H. Ward, Wm. Alway, Wm. Digman, Ira Allen, John Matthews, Zack. Jacobs, Jesse

Zavets (indistinct), Jonas Zavitz, E. Perry, Abram Neff, I. Quant, James Robson, Adam Beattie, Robert Taylor, Andrew Taytor (or Taylor), Wm. Lumby, Benjamin Lumby, Charles Lumby, Eliphalet Gustin, Isaiah Gustin, David Quillan, William Harison, Francis Drullard, George Drullard, William Shipley, John Shipley, Edward Shipley, Philip Rosser, Thomas Rosser, William Patterson, Luther Stillson, John Stillson, William Willson, George Molton, Christopher Waugh, Joseph Hampton, J. Robson.

These are the records of a body that in its day and generation filled the place allotted to it with due regard to its purpose and its duty to the Province of Upper Canada. No distinctive achievements in the Military Annals are to its credit but the details given show on the whole a response to duty on the part of these hardy pioneers of the early days that is not exceeded to-day.

They now sleep the sleep of those of whom it may be said that in respect of their civil as well as their military duties they did well and we honor them for the path of duty as well as the path in the forest which they blazed.

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN LONDON BEFORE 1860

BY FRED LANDON, M. A.

Read before London and Middlesex Historical Society, January 21, 1919.

To gain any comprehensive idea of the condition which surrounded the refugees from slavery in Canada in the period before the Civil War it would be necessary to make a careful examination of a number of the communities which afforded homes and livelihood to the runaways and their families. Marked differences would be noted in the condition of the refugees in the various communities. There would also be differences in the attitude of the white population towards these strangers in their midst. Occasionally there was prejudice shown, some intolerance that jarred on the generally broadminded view of Canadians. This did not pass unobserved by the negroes themselves nor by their friends, yet none could be more grateful than these people for even the droppings of liberty and opportunity of the Canadian table. Despite the small population at the time of the very considerable immigration of negroes in the forties and fifties, there was never anything in this country which could properly described as a negro problem, and in general the relations of whites and blacks were marked by a friendliness against which any occasional ill-will showed in quite marked contrast.

A study of the condition of the refugees in London before the Civil War may be regarded as typical of conditions which prevailed in cities like Hamilton and Toronto, but hardly as typical of Windsor, Chatham or even St. Catharines which were towns having large colored population. Conditions in London would, of course, differ much from those found in organized refugee settlements such as the Elgin Association at Buxton, Kent County, or the Refugee Home settlement in Essex county, near Windsor. The testimony of observers, both white and black, of the period of the fifties, is that probably in on other place were the blacks treated with such friendliness as in Toronto. Similar testimony is borne to an ill-will more manifest at Chatham than elsewhere. Not that there was ill-treatment at Chatham, far from it, but there was more prejudice there, due in part to the attitude of a member for Parliament for Kent county, who did not hesitate to declare himself the refugees' friend when an election impended but blackguarded the race at other times, even on the floor of the Canadian Parliament.

London's geographical situation had its part in making this city one of the Canadian refugee centres. The fifties in particular were years when an inland city had much to commend it to a runaway slave. Kidnappings took place occasionally at Windsor, Niagara and other border points, some of these of the boldest character and in utter defiance of the Canadian law. Few of the slavers, however, would attempt to kidnap a slave in an inland

town, though they would come here once in a while seeking to persuade the slave to return or endeavoring to lure him to a border town where an attempt at kidnapping might stand a chance of success. The black man who reached the Forest City could feel that he was a free man and that no one could threaten his liberty. Then, too, the city was easy of access from whatever point the runaway entered Upper Canada. From the Niagara River on the east, from the Detroit River on the west and from Cleveland and Port Stanley on the south, arrivals in London are recorded, some of them escorted to their destination by border abolitionists or by "conductors" on the underground railroad who had guided them out of slavery and through the dangers of the supposedly free north. For those were days when the Fugitive Slave Law could take a runaway even in the streets of Boston.

The refugees who reached Canada tended to drift to the towns and cities. They were more likely to meet friends there, perhaps relatives who had come the way before them. In addition, there were more immediate opportunities to make a living, a matter of importance seeing that the great majority of the fugitives reached Canada in absolute destitution. London offered fair opportunity to the newcomer. In the fifties it was an active little city, surrounded, as now, by well-tilled farms which created for it an extensive trade. While opportunities to rise high in the social scale were absent, yet the city of London would at least provide a living for any colored man or woman willing to work. And, in general, it must be said to the credit of the refugees that they did work and that a majority of them did rise more or less in the social scale by their exertions. The names of several pioneer colored men come quickly to mind who showed themselves good citizens and earned the full respect of their white fellow-citizens. Their children hold that same respect in London of today.

It is difficult to arrive at any definite figure as to the number of colored refugees in London before the outbreak of the Civil War. Figures that are derived from various sources are contradictory.

The History of Middlesex, published here in 1889, says that in 1839 there were "over 200" colored people in London. It adds that in 1853 there were 276 colored people in London owning real estate valued at $13504.

Drew's "North Side View of Slavery," published at Boston in 1856, says that at that time there were 350 colored people out of a total of 12000.

James R. Brown's "Views of Canada and the Colonists," (Edinburgh 1851) gives the colored population of London district as 480 of whom 374 were males, a very great preponderance but not unlikely at that time.

Dr. S. G. Howe's "Refugees from Slavery in Canada West," (Boston 1863) quotes the mayor of London as saying that there

are 75 colored families in London though the latest census had shown only 36 colored people in this city. This statement was plainly incorrect as the census of 1860-1 shows 171 colored people in London.

W. M. Mitchell's "Underground Railroad," (London 1860) gives the colored population as 500 out of a total of 12000. This is probably exaggerated.

The London school report of 1862, made at a time when the question of segregation of colored children was arousing feeling, shows 55 colored families, 153 children, 96 of school age and 50 attending school. (Quoted by Howe, page 105)

It seems safe to say that in the late fifties there were about 300 colored people in London and that figure had probably not been exceeded at any earlier date.

There is good evidence that the refugees in London found it fairly easy to make their living. Some of them gathered considerable property and one or two showed business ability. The History of Middlesex (London 1889) gives their holdings of real estate in 1853 as $13504. Rev. W. M. Mitchell in his "Underground Railroad" says that beggary and pauperism are unknown in London.

Dr. Howe, when he visited London in 1863 as representative of the U. S. Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, was told by Dr. Proudfoot that he didn't know a beggar among the negroes. The mayor of the city said that while there were none of wealth there were many negroes owning a single lot. Dr. Howe remarks on the thrift evident in their very tidy homes, in their gardens and in the general good state of repair of their property. There is ample testimony borne that the refugees always earned their own way and never depended on others.

Drew's "North Side View on Slavery" gives considerable data regarding individual negroes in London. A. B. Jones is quoted as saying that he arrived without a cent, got work at once and has now placed his family beyond want. Moreover, he thinks, any colored man with industry can do the same. Drew states in a footnote that Jones resided on Grey Street in a brick dwelling as good or better than the average house in London, a place worth $4000, that he also owned other property in the city—a brick dwelling in the business section comprising two stores which rent for between $700 and $800 per annum, and several building lots in the immediate vicinity of the Great Western freight depot. "Mr. Jones," says Drew "is of unmixed African blood." Mention is made of this same man by S. R. Ward in his "Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro" (London 1855). He says that Jones has his shop, his residence and most of his town property on one of the best streets in the center of the town. Ward also makes mention of the fact that there are some colored families in London whose condition is equal, if not superior, to many of the inhabitants of either color.

Alfred T. Jones, a brother of A. B. Jones, was another prosperous refugee. He kept a drugstore on Ridout Street opposite the exchange. He told Drew that he was closing out his affairs in London in order to go to England in connection with a suit involving his title to Dundas St. property valued at $45,000. The case had alrady gone through chancery in th provincial courts and was now appealed.

Nelson Moss, described by Ward, as the "best cordwainer in Middlesex county" said to Drew that there were a few colored people wealthy and a good many well off. Some who had arrived without the price of a night's lodging now had houses and lands of their own. John Holmes informed Drew that he owned 22 acres of land. He had recently sold a house and lot to the railroad at a profit. He regretted that he had not invested in London real estate at an earlier date. Had he done so he would have been well to do. He blamed lack of education for the slow progress of some of the colored people.

John D. Moore showed a good spirit in his interview. "I can't complain," he said. "I am doing well here and am satisfied with Canada."

Christopher Hamilton said he had made a comfortable living. He thought the colored people in London were saving and did not waste their means. Alex. Hamilton told Drew that he arrived in Canada in 1834 penniless. Today he had three houses and several lots of land in London. Henry Moorehead had only been in London a short time but was doing well.

Benj. Miller said, "All make a living and some lay up money." He had property worth $1800 and had raised a family of eight out of his eighteen children in London. There was no begging by the refugees, he said. He himself had served as pastor of the Methodist Church on Thames Street for several years without pay. He had travelled extensively in Canada and generally speaking he found the colored people doing well, "uncommon well considering the way they came."

In some of the Ontario towns where the refugees settled in numbers they tended to live by themselves in one district or street with results that were generally regarded as unsatisfactory, as race segregation usually is. In the larger cities, however, there was a tendency to scatter about among the whites, this being particularly true in Toronto. In London the nearest approach to a negro quarter was the little lowlying district west of the gashouse towards the river which until a very few years ago bore the name of "Nigger Hollow" though for long there had been few, if any, colored people living there. At one time there was a colored Methodist church near the corner of Horton and Thames Street. This has long since disappeared. Grey Street was also the home of quite a number of refugees in the earlier days as the district is for their descendants today. The vicinity of Wellington Street bridge also found quite a number of colored people. Their

occupations were what might be expected in view of their social status and lack of education. They were mostly engaged in hotel work, whitewashing and plastering, cleaning, carting and like occupations though there were a number of skilled workmen among the London refugees and a few in business.

Mr. William Mayo, who came to London about 1840, says that he and the other members of the family were brought from Hamilton to London by a negro teamster who solicited the job. There were quite a number of negroes in the city at that time, he says, perhaps more than there are today is his opinion.

Taken as a whole the evidence presented by impartial observers of the time is that the negro refugees were steady and industrious, getting along well in Canada considering all their handicaps. Dr. J. Wilson Moore, of Philadelphia, who visited this city before the war, was struck by the air of neatness and comfort displayed at the homes of the London fugitives.

The morality of the refugees in Canada affords a most interesting commentary on the effects of freedom. The constant violations of domestic relations under slavery was bound to react on the home life and to take away the incentive to constancy. Yet, on arriving in Canada, one of the first things married slaves did was to have their plantation union reaffirmed by the form of marriage legal in this country. Dr. Howe observed that the refugees tended to settle in families and to hallow marriage and that sensuality lessened under freedom. Mrs. Laura Haviland, who was engaged in educational work with the negroes in Essex county, has left some interesting evidences of this in her book "A woman's life work." The religious instruction given the fugitives by devoted workers in Canada had some part, no doubt, in the improvement noticed in Canada. Mrs. Haviland has left a record of her experiences which is probably typical of what was being done in London and elsewhere. On Sundays her schoolhouse near Windsor would be thronged, persons coming five and six miles to be present. The reading of the Bible was a great delight to the negroes, though none of them could do little more than spell out more simple portions a word at a time. Dr. Howe noted that in Canada the religion of the negroes was "less nasal and more practical" than in slavery. Religious instincts were shown in charity to the sick and to new comers and in the attitude to women. Dr. Howe was also pleased to note as a characteristic of the negroes in Canada that there was no spirit of vengeance manifested against those who had so wronged them in the past, no desire to go back and take it out of the old master. Rather, there was a disposition to let the dead past bury its dead and to look to the present and future. The general improvement of the refugees in Canada was very well summed up by Dr. Howe when he said: "The refugees in Canada earn a living and gather property; they build churches and send their children to schools; they improve in manners and morals, not because they are picked men

but because they are free men."

It would appear, from the testimony of a number of observors of conditions as they were in London in the fifties and early sixties that there was some prejudice shown against the negroes. Dr. Samuel G. Howe, who visited London as representative of the United States Freedmen's Inquiry Commission makes repeated mention in his report of this condition in London and cites cases where he believes the negroes were unfairly treated. While in London he interviewd several people with regard to this. Rev. Dr. Proudfoot told him that the prejudice was growing. That was in 1863.

"But it is not a British feeling," Dr. Proudfoot explained. "It does not spring from our people but from your people coming over here. There are many Americans here and great deference is paid to their feelings. We have a great deal of northern feeling here. The sympathy for the north is much greater than you would imagine."

Dr. A. T. Jones (colored) told Dr. Howe that there was a "mean prejudice" in London that was not found in the States. John Shipton (colored) also found prejudice greater in London than in the States and thought it would be a good deal worse but for the protection of the Canadian law.

Dr. Howe himself placed the blame for the prejudice on the schools, particularly on the headmaster of the union school who was opposed to having white and black together. This teacher he quotes as saying: "It does not work well with us to have colored children in school with the whites. In our community there is more prejudice against the colored people and the children receive it from their parents. The colored children must feel it for the white children refuse to play with them in the playgrounds."

One of the other teachers in the school expressed the opinion that the colored children would be better educated and that conditions generally would be improved if the negroes were sent to separate schools. The colored children would not then be subjected to so much annoyance. This teacher added that some white children of the lower order didn't mind sitting with negroes but that there were others more particular who didn't like it at all.

Dr. Howe comments, with a touch of bitterness, on the sad sight in the playground of this London school "where colored children stood aside and looked wistfully at groups of whites playing games from which they were excluded. Such scenes," he adds, "do not occur in the playground at Hamilton because the teacher takes care, by showing personal interest in the colored children, to elevate them in the eyes of their comrades. Moreover, it is not likely that the school committee of London would persist in efforts to expel colored children from public schools and to degrade them in the public eye if one humane master should publicly protest against it as any citizen has a right to do."

When Dr. Howe visited London in 1863 there was a contest under way to segregate the colored children as had already been done in some other Western Ontario municipalities. The colored people had announced that they would fight this move and they were led in their opposition by Dr. A. T. Jones, who had himself been a slave until he was twenty. He pointed out to Dr. Howe that his eight childrn had all been born in London and that they were as much British subjects as any white child. Such a course as that proposed by the school board would, he contended, make them grow up to hate the country instead of loving it. He predicted that the close of the war then raging would see a general exodus of the refugees back to the States.

A report of a sub-committee made to the London school board in 1862 spoke of prejudice even amongst the children, of the close proximity of the negroes being distasteful to the whites and of the want of sympathy between white teachers and colored children. By a vote of ten to three a decision had been reached to place all the colored children in a separate school "when financially practicable." This condition was never reached.

Evidence of some prejudice at a date much earlier is given in Benjamin Drew's "North Side View of Slavery." Drew came to Canada about 1855 to see how the refugees were making out in the new land and to see how far they improved their condition in freedom. He makes out a strong case against slavery by showing that freedom made men out of the former chattels. He mentions prejudice against the negroes in the city schools but praises the work of the Colonial Church and School Society. The bulk of the negro children seemed to be in the care of this society.

A. T. Jones (colored) is quoted by Drew as he was quoted by Howe eight or nine years later. He speaks of a "second hand prejudice" among old country people but thought that there would be less of this were it not that practically all the refugees were poor and ignorant and so did not properly represent their race. Frances Henderson told Drew that there was "much prejudice" against the negro and cited cases where negroes had practically been turned away from hotels. John Holmes (colored) said there was still some prejudice but not as much as there used to be. He speaks of colored people having been insulted when they came out of white churches. John D. Moore (colored) mentioned prejudice amongst the lower class of whites but praised the protection of the law and was philosophical about any feeling among the whites.

Rev. S. R. Ward, writing about the same period, says in his "Autobiography of the Fugitive Negro" that "there is not a town in Canada where the respectable colored people enjoy more of the esteem of the best classes than London."

"Here, too," he adds. "the lower classes are, according to their custom, negro haters".

It is not difficult to understand why in a city like London there should arise some of this ill feeling. To some extent the black men came into the unskilled labor market in competition with the lower classes of whites and wherever this occured, whether in the United States or Canada, there was some feeling aroused. A second influence was that of wealthy southerners who sojourned in Canada and were popular in the society of the day. I have been told that during the Civil War a number of southern men left their families in London, some of them living at the Tecumseh House. There would be no sympathy among these people for runaway slaves and their attitude would be reflected among some of their Canadian friends. A third influence lay in the suspicion of all things Yankee. The fact that the northern Yankees were fighting the negro's battle would tend to arouse some ill feeling against the refugee who was likely to be regarded as having stirred up more turmoil than he was worth. Rev. Dr. Proudfoot speaks of the prejudice as being due to Americans who had come over to Canada. In 1863 there would be both southern refugee whites and northern scalawags in London, neither of whom had much use for the colored people.

This must be said for Canada, that though there was in some places a prejudice against the negro he was always protected in his rights by Canadian law. Instances where any lawlessness was shown towards the black men are exceedingly rare. There is a case recorded in Kent county where a number of white men attempted to stop a negro building his home on his own land. They tore down each night what he would build up in the day until he presented himself with a gun and gave them warning that he would protect his property. Then they left him at peace. I have found no instance of this or anything approaching it in London. The chief difficulty here had to do with the schools. Outside of that there was practically no trouble of any kind.

Prof. W. H. Siebert, of the Ohio State University, worked out some years ago the varied and tortuous routes by which the fugitives from the south came to safety in Canada. His map of the "underground railroad" would have been worth thousands of dollars to the slave owners of any southern state before the war. Along the northern boundary of New York and Pennsylvania, that is on Lake Ontario and the Niagara frontier, there were ten points from which the fugitives crossed to Canada. These were Ogdensburg, Cape Vincent, Port Ontario, Oswego, some port near Rochester, Lewiston, Suspension Bridge, Black Rock, Buffalo, Dunkirk and Erie. Of these the four on the Niagara River were the most important and brought the greater number of runaways to freedom. Refugees coming in at any of these points tended to go to Toronto, St. Catharines, Hamilton and in a few cases to Brantford.

The Ohio ports brought more to this district, particularly

to London. On Lake Erie there were eight stations that were the termini of the long trips from the slave south. These were Ashtabula, Painesville, Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo, Huron, Lorain and Conneaut. Refugees leaving those ports landed in the majority of cases at Long Point, Port Burwell, Port Stanley or Point Pelee though a few would land on the Detroit River. The Detroit River was the most important of all places of entry to Canada. At Fort Malden (Amherstburg) as many as thirty a day entered Canada, while probably as many more came in at Windsor and Sandwich.

Dr. A. M. Ross, of Toronto, who made daring trips into the slave states in the fifties, spreading news of Canada among the slaves and in several cases helping them to escape, describes the experiences of a negro man and woman who were finally landed in London, coming in via Port Stanley. Dr. Ross was mixed up in the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859 but a few months after that tragedy, while the south was still excited, he decided to renew his operations and accordingly went to Harrodsburg, Ky., giving out that he was a Canadian looking for a farm. He amused himself hunting in the woods in his leisure and the man with whom he was bargaining for a farm allowed a very intelligent mulatto to accompany him. The slave told Ross that he had been separated from his wife one month after they were married, the woman being sold to a hotelkeeper in Covington, and that he himself was likely to be sold down the river to Texas. He begged Ross to try and get them both to Canada. The latter explained to him that if he wanted liberty he would have to be ready to sacrifice for it. He explained to him that if he reached Cincinnati he would be sheltered and protected and gave him the name of people there who would be ready to aid. Ross further said that he would go to Covington and try and get the woman away and that the two would be united in Cincinnati. On the following Saturday night the negro, Peter, made good his escape, being aided by the compass and other necessaries supplied him by Ross. On the Friday Ross went to Covington and put up at the hotel where Polly, the woman, was owned. The hotelkeeper told Ross that he had paid $1200 for her, but was inclined to grumble because she wouldn't take up with his negro man. He promised her a good lashing if she didn't give in and told Dr. Ross that he knew how to manage such. He would send her down to New Orleans where she would bring $2000 because she was "likely".

Ross managed to get a word with the woman secretly and told her that her husband intended to run away, and that she was to make an effort to join him in Cincinnati. Ross promised to help her. He then went over the river to Cincinnati but on Sunday night, at midnight, he crossed the river in a small boat, met the negress at a point agreed upon and in an hour had her in Ohio. Putting the woman in a cab they drove to a point near

the friend's home, then dismounted and entered the house by the rear door.

Ross told her that as soon as her husband arrived they would both be sent on to Cleveland where he would meet them and help them on to Canada. He accordingly went on to Cleveland to make further arrangements and in a few days received word that Peter had arrived safely, though with badly torn feet. A few days later another letter reached Dr. Ross stating that freight car No. 705 had been hired to convey a box containing one package of "hardware" and one of "dry goods" to Cleveland. The key of the car was enclosed. The train of which this car was part was due in Cleveland on a Tuesday evening. That morning Dr. Ross drove into Cleveland from the home where he had been stopping just outside the city and as he passed one of the chief hotels who should be standing outside but the Harrodsburg farmer, the owner of Peter. They made their way unobserved by the slaver and went to the harbor where after a long search they found a schooner loading for Port Stanley and sailing the next day if the weather were favorable. The captain agreed to stow away the two fugitives and to carry them to Canada. Toward night Dr. Ross went to the freight depot and met the train bearing the precious shipment. He unlocked the door, went in and closed the door after him. There was no sign of life but he called in a low voice "Peter." The reply came at once, "Yes, massa, shall I open the box?" There were the two poor creatures in a drygoods box just sufficiently large for them to sit up in. They were helped out, placed in a closed carriage, driven to the harbor and hidden in the schooner. After midnight sail was made and Port Stanley reached the following evening.

"When our little vessel was safely moored alongside the pier," says Dr. Ross in his narrative, "I led my two companions on shore, and told them that they were now in a land where freedom was guaranteed to all. Two happier beings I never saw. We kneeled together on the soil of Canada and thanked the Almighty Father for His aid and protection. Next day I took them to London and obtained situations for both Peter and his wife."

It would be interesting to know who these people were whose first names were Peter and Polly.

The negroes in London were quite ready to strike a blow at slavery as the following incident will show. In 1850 a St. Louis man named W. R. Merwin was travelling through Canada accompanied by a slave boy ten or twelve years old. At London he was seen by some colored men who were at the depot and they wired to friends in Chatham to meet the train there and look into the case. As soon as the train reached Chatham a body of colored men entered the car where Merwin was sitting and summarily emancipated the boy by taking him away and putting him in hiding. Merwin promptly laid a charge of abduction,

claiming that the boy was taken from him against his own desire. The case came on in court, dragged along for some time but came to nothing because the boy had disapperaed and also because it was discovered that Merwin was not a southern man at all but a travelling agent who had kidnapped the boy in Paterson, N. J., and was evidently planning to take him south and sell him. There is an account of the incident in the Globe of October 8, 1858, and in the issue of December 10 of the same year there is a further reference, the Detroit Advertiser of Nov. 27 being quoted as saying that the mother of the boy has arrived from Paterson to take her son back.

This story derives additional interest from the fact that it is told in similar detail in the sketch of Elijah Leonard that was published in this city some years ago. Mr. Leonard tells that he was at the Grand Trunk depot and saw the man pacing up and down the platform with the boy. He called the attention of a negro, Anderson Diddrick, to the case, who at once got busy. When the case came to trial in Chatham, Elijah Leonard was called as a witness but the papers miscarried and he did not attend. The case attacted considerable attention in some of the American papers, exaggerated reports being published telling of the rescue of the boy having been brought about by a mob numbering between three and four hundred and armed with guns and knives. The Chatham Planet gave a prompt denial to this, stating that there was no riotous conduct, no violence, no threats, but that all was done peaceably but firmly.

The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada was founded at Toronto in 1851 and in pursuance of its work proceeded to establish branches in various cities, London being one of the earliest. In Sept. 1852 Rev. S. R. Ward, a colored man, visited London and preached in the Methodist New Connexion Chapel (the present Salvation Army Citadel). Following his visit the branch of the Anti-Slavery Society was formed with the following officers:

President, Rev. William McClure, pastor of the Methodist New Connexion Chapel.

Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. Robert Boyd, the pastor of the Baptist Church (now Wrighton's hide warehouse).

Directors: Rev. W. F. Clarke, pastor of the Congregational Church, then on King Street; Rev. John Scott, first pastor of St. Andrew's Church; Dr. Salter; John Fraser; Dr. Wanless; William Rowland and A. B. Jones.

The history of Middlesex says (page 357) that the opening of a fugitive chapel followed the organization of the branch of the Anti-Slavery Society and that other measures were taken, looking both to the comfort of the refugees and also to means for rescuing slaves in the south from their inhuman conditions. The same work speaks (page 36) of a refugee chapel and alms house being established here by the Colonial Society, of which Rev. Isaac Hellmuth was in charge. The Colonial Church Society's

school is mentioned in the London Directory for 1856-7. Rev. Mr. Dillon was head of the mission in London at that time. He is mentioned in Drew's "North Side View of Slavery." He account given of conditions among the refugees in London.

There are those still living in Canada who knew what it meant to get out of the south and make their way against great odds in some cases, to the land of liberty. The following story was given to me within the last few weeks by Mrs. W. J. Hardin, who resides at 21 Wellington Road, and whose sister, Mrs. Harper, lives at 56 High Street. These aged women reached this city on March 25th, 1855, and although neither was a slave their exit from the south was attended with considerable danger and much discomfort.

Mrs. Hardin says that she is the daughter of a negro mother and a father half Indian and half German. Her father was a freeman who seeing her mother in slavery and taking a fancy to her bought her freedom and made her his wife. A family of fifteen children were born in Kentucky. About 1855 hints were brought to the mother that a plot was on foot to enslave her and the children and sell them all south. She forthwith determined to move to some safer place and arranged to leave on the next boat going from Bowling Green, Ky.

Mrs. Hardin was herself married by this time but her husband was in California. When she saw her mother packing she decided that she would leave too and so all started north, old mother Butcher, several of her daughters and their children. At Evanston, Ohio, the boat was held up by ice and they proceeded by train to Cincinnati. On the way they met in with a man named Lawrence from this city, an uncle of the late Shack Martin, and it was probably through him that London came to be their goal. At Cincinnati the party divided, some coming openly on the railroad to Toledo while the others journeyed more secretly by the" underground railway" to Detroit where finally all were united. Abolitionist friends gave some help here and the party finally landed in London on a cold March day knowing no one and practically penniless. But the heart of the fugitives who had attained the goal was ever open to their helpless fellows and at the railroad depot in London they were taken in charge by William Hamilton, a colored baker at the corner of York and Ridout Streets, who took the whole party, eight in all to his home.

"When we left Kentucky they were starting to sow the crops," says Mrs. Hardin, "but when we landed in London that day it was cold and bleak, with snow and frost everywhere."

After a few days spent at the Hamilton home the party was lodged in Jones' Hotel where they were charged one dollar a day each for very poor accommodation. While sitting in the waiting room one day Mrs. Hardin was approached by a stranger who asked her name and on being told asked her husband's name.

The stranger was Henry Howard, a colored man who had done well and who knew her husband. He took the whole party to his home, kept them there for some weeks, then assisted them in securing a house and in making a home.

They did not find the struggle at all easy. The first directory of the city of London records the name of Mrs. P. Butcher at the corner of Cartwright and Great Market Streets whose occupation is given as sewing and washing. The family did whatever work came their way to make both ends meet. A few years later, while the Civil War was raging and when London was a home for many southern families, Mrs. Hardin found her services much in demand as cook for the southerners far from their home and longing for the dishes so common in Dixie.

Mrs. Hardin says that two and three times a week she would fill a basket with real southern dishes and take it to the rooms of some family at the Tecumseh House who would then call in other southern families for the meal. She also did sewing and washing for them, all of which assisted the family.

From 1855 to 1860 there was a large influx of colored folk, she says, but many of these returned to the United States when the war was over. Most of them she did not know, she was too busy trying to make a living to bother much with the newcomers from slavery. Though most of her family were Baptists she herself was a Methodist and attended the colored church which in the fifties was located at the corner of Horton and Thames Streets.

In the history of Middlesex (1889) the statement is made at page 36 that "in May 1858 John Brown, with his abolition lieutenants, Kagi and Stevens, resided in Canada, passing their leisure hours at London or Hamilton and their working hours at Chatham, drafting the constitution of their proposed provisional government of the United States."

It was in April of 1858 that Brown was in this part of the country on his first visit to Canada. Osborne P. Anderson describes his visit to Chatham as follows: "The first visit of John Brown to Chatham was in April, 1858. Wherever he went around, though an entire stranger, he made a profound impression upon those who saw or became acquainted with him. Some supposed him a staid but modernized Quaker, others a solid business man from "somewhere" and without question a philanthropist. His long white beard, thoughtful and reverend brow and physiognomy, his sturdy measured tread, as he circulated about with hands under the pendant coat tails of plain brown tweed, with other garments to match, revived to those honored with his acquaintance and knowing of his history, the memory of a Puritan of the most exalted type" (A voice from Harper's Ferry, 1861, page 9).

Brown's visit to Canada was really the prelude to the disastrous raid on the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, the

design of which was to strike a blow at slavery by making all slave property unsafe. R. J. Hinton in his "John Brown and His Men" says at page 70 that "in the early part of April John Brown visited St. Catharines, Ingersoll, Hamilton and Chatham in Canada West to prepare for the convention he wished to convene just before he entered on his active work. He was also reported at this time at Sandusky, Ohio and Detroit, Mich.

I have found no direct evidence that Brown ever visited London though it is not at all unlikely that he was here in 1858 conferring with the fugitives and with the friends of the fugitives in this city. If the story of Canada's relation to some of the striking episodes of the abolition movement and the Civil War could be known we would doubtless have some marked surprises. How many, for instance, know that on August 7th, 1864, there took place in this city a conference between three commissioners of the Confederate States government and representatives of the powerful secret political organization in the northwestern states known as the Knights of the Golden Circle, the object of which was to separate the northwestern states from the Union and form a second rebelling Confederacy. The story of the conference, what preceded it and what came of it, may be told at a later date before this society.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE HON. DAVID GLASS

Read at the London and Middlesex Historical Society on Tuesday, December 18, 1906, by S. Frank Glass

The late Hon. David Glass was a native of London, Canada, and led a brilliant, successful, and honorable life. Mr. Glass was the second son of the late Samuel Glass, who was born in the County of Armagh, Ireland, in 1800, and came to Canada in the year 1819. His ancestors moved from Scotland and settled at Loch Glass, in the year 1607. Born in the township of Westminster, Ontario, July 20th, 1829, he was educated at London Grammar School, and with James Thompson, the well known classical teacher. He was called to the bar in 1864, and practised for some years in London, Ontario, where his firm conducted an extensive and varied business. He defended Thomas Jones in the celebrated Delaware murder trial; Thomas Coyle in the Nissouri Case; and Smith in the Sombra murder trial at Sarnia. He also defended Wilson in the celebrated arson trial at Windsor, Ontario.

Mr. Glass entered the city council in London in the year 1855, remaining as alderman until 1858, when he was elected to the Mayoralty by a unanimous vote. At the end of his term of office he was presented with a silver tea service by the corporation. He was subsequently twice elected to the Mayoralty of London by a vote of the people, viz.: the years 1865 and 1866. The two years preceding these were eventful and stirring ones in the municipal experience of London. The council of 1863 had commenced the year with a sensation. one of the first items of business brought up by Councillor Walter Nicholl charging an assessor with wrongfully assessing his own property. In those days property was assessed by the rental, and not by the actual value. The assessor resigned, but the committee found that the charge was not sustained. There had been serious rumors afloat even at that early day, about Chamberlain Brown's books, and a special committee was appointed to investigate them, together with the recorder. They reported everything all right however, although it afterwards turned out that there were serious shortages at that very time. The council of this year was the first to introduce a fire-limits by-law, which prevented the erection of frame buildings, between King and North (now Queens Avenue) Streets.

The sensation of this year however was an assault committed by Mayor Cornish on Major Bowles, which led to the withdrawal of the British garrison from London. Incensed by certain scandalous rumors, which, under the influence of wine at mess Major Bowles boasted were true, Mayor Cornish set out on the war-path,

and finding Bowles in the Tecumseh House, publicly thrashed him. The military took Bowles' part and a complaint was sent to headquarters. Sir William Fenwick Williams, commanding Her Majesty's forces in Canada, wrote to Major-General Napier commanding the Western district, ordering the withdrawal of the troops from London on account of the Mayor's ruffianly conduct, which he said had been indorsed by a vote of the council. This the council denied and passed a long series of resolutions, denying that they had in any way indorsed the Mayor's conduct and told Sir William that if he wished to withdraw the troops to gratify his private feelings, and to the injury of the Empire at large, he could do so. He did it all the same and the troops were taken away the next year.

In 1864 Mayor Cornish was again elected, and many exciting experiences of the previous year were repeated. In the municipal arena, however, the dispute between the school board and the council created more than ordinary bitterness. The school board asked for $9000.00 and the council only allowed them $8000.00. The trustees objected strenuously, but were unable to prevail upon the council to grant their demands. They applied to the judges in Toronto to compel the council to pay them the $9000.00. It was near the end of the year, and before the application was argued the council of 1865 was elected. They gave up the dispute and paid the $1000.00 and the case dropped. The enmities and bitterness created by the council, and especially the Mayor of the year 1864, continued throughout the year and the municipal campaign of 1865 brought Mr. Glass once more into the field, to contest the mayoralty seat with Mr. Cornish, who for the third time was asking the confidence of the electors. The campaign opened in a stormy manner. The election was so riotous that Mr. Glass demanded a second day's poll, and the calling out of the volunteers to protect his voters. Then on the third of January, 1865, London witnessed something she has never seen since. Armed troops surrounded every polling booth in the city, Mr. Glass was elected on the second day's polling. Colonel Shanley, who commanded the volunteers, billed the council for $282.60, and the account was paid, but under protest. The council this year comprised the following gentlemen: Aldermen—Barnabbas Wheeler, Jas. M. Cousins, Samuel McBride, John Campbell, David Hughes, John Cousins, John Ross, Alex. Murray, Daniel Macfie, James Williams, Thomas Peel, John Christie, Thomas Partridge, Sr., Thomas Partridge, Jr.; Councilmen—Wm. Johnston, James Deadman, John B. Smyth, Oswald Baynes, James Reid, John W. Cryer, Hewitt Fysh, James Percival, J. W. Rapley, T. Brown, Wade Owen, S. Screaton, M. Macnamara and W. C. L. Gill.

In 1864 after an interview with President Abraham Lincoln at Washington, Mr. Glass gave his impressions of that great man in the London Free Press. The following year, 1865, it will be

remembered President Lincoln was assassinated, and on that occasion the corporation of the city of London offered its condolences to the Republic of the United States in the following resolution, which was conveyed to the Executive at Washington through Mayor David Glass: Resolved—that in view of the lamented occurence which has taken place in the neighboring Republic of the United States, by which their Chief Magistrate has been deprived of life at the hands of an assassin, we, the corporation of the city of London, deem it incumbent upon us to offer to our sorrowing neighbors this expression of our sympathy in the great loss they have sustained, and our abhorrence of the act by which they have been made to suffer." Mayor Glass at this time also presided at a public mass meeting of the citizens of London, held to give expression to their abhorrence of the assassination, and their sympathy with the great Republic in their irreparable loss.

During this year London was overrun with burglars, and so bad did they become that the city offered a reward of $200.00 for the capture of any one of them. The police were altogether unequal to the task, and finally the citizens formed a vigilance committee, and patrolled the streets every night.

In the fall of 1865 the Grammar and Public Schools were united, and the council appointed as its representative on the Board of Education, Wade Owens and Dr. C. G. Moore.

In 1866 Mr. Glass was again elected Mayor of the city for the third time, and the following gentlemen constituted the council: Aldermen—Barnarbas Wheeler, Edward Glackmeyer, Samuel McBride, John Campbell, David Hughes, John Cousins, Alex. Murray, John Ross, Daniel Macfie, Daniel Lester, John Christie, Thomas Peel, Thomas Partridge, Sr., Thomas Partridge, Jr.; Councillors—James Deadman, Emmanuel Pavey, John B. Smyth, Oswald Baynes, James Reid, John W. Cryer, James Percival, Hewitt Fysh, Jesse W. Rapley, George Burdett, Wade Owen, Samuel Screaton, Martin Macnamara and W. C. L. Gill.

This was the year that the agitation in favor of city waterworks first commenced, and the council early in February appointed a committee to ascertain if a supply could be drawn from Pond Mills.

About this time a dog mania sprung up and reached such proportions that Mayor Glass issued a proclamation ordering all dogs within the city limits to be restrained or muzzled.

The year 1866 is also memorable as that of the Fenian Raid. The British troops which had been withdrawn from here in 1864 were returned in the fall of 1865 in anticipation of the raid. The Fenian Brotherhood was an association of Irishmen founded in New York in the year 1857, with a view to securing the independence of Ireland. The movement soon spread over the United States and Ireland (where it absorbed the Phoenix Society) and among the Irish population of Great Britain, and several attempts

were made at insurrection in Ireland and at invasion of Canada from the United States. The association was organized into district clubs, called "Circles" presided over by "Centers" with a Head-Center as chief president and a general senate, an organization afterwards modified in some respects. The spirit of aggression and hostile demonstration against Canada at this time by the Fenian Brotherhood was promoted by contemporaneous events, such as the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States. The hostile actions of the Fenian Brotherhood caused considerable alarm along the frontier, and provoked indignation against the United States. In order to secure the Irish vote, the rival political factions of the United States shamefully abetted this conspiracy against the peace and prosperity of an unoffending neighboring country, and permitted the public parade and drilling of this army of invasion, not only without censure, but with their active co-operation.

St. Patrick's day, the 17th of March, was announced as the date of the menaced invasion. The Canadian Government responded to the insolent threat by calling out 10,000 volunteers. The heart of the country was thrilled to the core and in twenty-four hours over fourteen thousand of Canada's sons sprang to arms for its protection, and many Canadians dwelling in the United States hastened home to take part in its defence. The exposed points were promptly guarded, and vigilantly watched by our militia. By the middle of May the threatened invasion having seemingly exhausted itself, a considerable portion of the volunteer force were withdrawn from the frontier and allowed to return to their homes. But secret preparations however were being made for a number of simultaneous attacks on Canada. One expedition from Detroit, Chicago and other Western cities was directed against Lake Huron frontier, another from Buffalo and Rochester was to cross the Niagara River and also at several other points the invasion was threatened. It was in connection with these latter attempts that the volunteers of London were called upon to take up arms and were promptly rushed to the frontiers, as well as the British troops which had been returned to London the previous year. The Seventh Battalion, the London Field Battery and the London Troop of Cavalry were amongst those who went forward to guard the western borders of the Province. The citizens at once got into a panic, alleging that they were left at the mercy of the Fenians. The government were petitioned for more troops, and on the advice of Colonel Bruce, Mayor Glass and the city council took the initiative in the formation of the famous "Home Guard." However the danger drifted past and on June the 11th of that year "the boys" returned from the front and were banqueted by the city.

Mr. Glass filled the office of Police Magistrate and Judge of the Recorder's Court at London, and was Deputy Judge of the County of Middlesex. Created a Q. C. by the Ontario Govern-

ment in 1876, he was elected a bencher of the Law Society of Ontario in 1880. Removing to Winnipeg in 1882 he was called to the bar of Manitoba in May 1882, and was soon after appointed solicitor of the city of Winnipeg, in which city he enjoyed a large and lucrative practise in partnership with his son Chester Glass. In 1872 he was elected in the Conservative interest to the House of Commons for East Middlesex, and sat in the House during the ensuing Parliament. In October of 1873, he, with thirteen other supporters, opposed Sir John Macdonald's Government on what was known as the Pacific Scandal. His speech in the House on that occasion was reprinted in pamphlet form and had a wide circulation. There was no invective against the government in his remarks, but an argument on the constitutional questions before the House. This speech was generally regarded as the most powerful and brilliant one of that debate. The great speech of Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, soon followed, and the government resigned on Nov. 5, 1873. In 1886 Mr. Glass was elected for St. Clemens, in Manitoba, and soon after, by a unanimous vote, was chosen Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, which office he filled to the end of the Parliament. While occupying the dual position City Solicitor and Speaker of the Assembly, he had an attack of muscular rheumatism. His doctors advised a discontinuance of sedentary employment. For the two succeeding years he spent most of his time on the salt water and became completely restored to robust health. In 1889 he visited the Paris Exposition, and in 1890 and 1891 passed a large part of his time in New York, Boston and the neighboring seaport towns. He made a special study of the world's expositions since the first one held in Hyde Park, London, 1851, under the auspices of the late Prince Consort. In 1853 he attended the world's fair in New York, and in 1876 the world's fair in Philadelphia, and the Paris Exposition in 1889. He attended the Chicago Exposition in 1893 on two different occasions in order to make a special study of it. Mr. Glass always had a fondness for travel. When he was twenty years of age he visited the West India Islands, and with others crossed Mexico on horse-back from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. This was in 1849, and Mr. Glass remained about a year in the gold-fields of California, but was compelled to return home on account of ill health.

During 1894 he went over British Columbia, north, south, east and west. He was of the opinion that this province with its wealth in minerals, timbers, fisheries and other resources was destined to be the key-stone in the great arch of British America, and that the distinguished men connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway, the railway itself and its excellent management constituted an important feature in the whole colonial empire.

In 1860 Mr. Glass joined the Masonic Order, and soon after became worshipful master of his mother lodge, Kilwinning No. 64,

G. R. C., and member of the grand lodge of Canada, but his chief field of Masonic research was in the Scottish Rite, where he received thirty-two degrees, and visited some of the finest lodges in the world. In 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair, he was one who attended the World's Congress of Masonry, at the Masonic Temple. In 1880 Mr. Glass took an active interest in obtaining funds for the relief of distress in Ireland. He delivered a lecture in Chatham, subject "Rothschild, King of Gold." On that occasion Mr. Glass was entertained at dinner by the corporation and leading men of the city. He was also a warm advocate of Imperial Federation. In 1900 Mr. Glass made a tour of the world, going westward by way of Vancouver and China. In Japan he was entertained lavishly by members of the government. On his arrival in England a general election had just begun. It was during the Boer war and Mr. Glass was requested to address constituencies in the interest of the government, and from an Imperial and Colonial standpoint. He delivered twenty-six stirring speeches in various cities in England, to crowded meetings, and was publicly thanked for his brilliant defence of the government. Mr. Glass was a powerful writer, and has left a large amount of manuscript, selections from which will be published. He was generous to a fault. He always had a ready helping hand for the poor, or struggling, but endeavored to make people help themselves rather than be a subject of bounty. During later years he spent most of his time in the West and on the Pacific coast where he had acquired considerable interests. He was a citizen of the world, but ever maintained a warm affection for London, Canada, the home of his boyhood, and where he resided until he was fifty-three years of age. For two years previous to his death he was affected with creeping paralysis, which, however, did not cause him physical suffering. He died on the 17th of July, 1906, surrounded by his bereaved family and honored and respected by his many friends. His body rests in the family plot at Mount Pleasant Cemetery, London, where it was interred with Masonic honors, conducted by his mother lodge Kilwinning 64. He married in December, 1852, Sara, second daughter of the late Henry Dalton. He left a widow and two children, Miss Eva Glass and Chester Glass, the latter now residing in New York.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONDON MILITARY SCHOOL

BY REV. G. M. COX

Read before the London and Middlesex Historical Society on December 20th, 1910

In the early summer of the year 1865,—and a hot summer it was—I had the opportunity of taking what was called a second class course in the London Military School. It was held in the first drill shed, the frame building, with a huge semi-cylindrical roof, which stood then about the corner formed by the north side of Princess Avenue and the west side of Waterloo Street, near the old Artillery Barracks and which faced on Wellington Street. My military experience had been limited to certain drill exercises at the departed Union School, and consisted of such elementary matters as "attention," "stand at ease," "form fours," etc., and with the easy satisfaction of boyhood, I thought that I was pretty well prepared to pass with credit through any curriculum that a military academy could present. I had seen the drill shed in the course of erection, and remember that it was shingled in the keen frosty winds of early winter; and that I had registered a resolve never to become a carpenter, or to follow a business involving such exposure to the weather.

London had a large regular garrison at this time. It was the headquarters of the Fourth Battalion of the Sixtieth Royal Rifles, wearing coats of invisible green and red facings, and a jaunty lot they were, chiefly if not altogether Southern Englishmen They had a fine hardworking Colonel (Hawley by name) and a genial Adjutant, disposed to make due allowance for the weaknesses and ignorance of raw cadets. London was also the headquarters of Her Majesty's 16th Reg't, who wore not scarlet as now, but red coats and white facings, i. e. in all cases where the rank of sergeant had been attained. There was also a fine battery of artillery—but we did not come in contact with them—as the aim of the school was to turn out officers for the infantry.

You will be pleased to imagine, then, on a fine summer morning a small squad of youths, from London and other places, the present registrar of Essex, the late Captain Garnett of the 26th Middlesex, Mr. John Mahon a former pupil of the old Grammar school, Mr. Rumball known in dramatic circles, and others, being of the number. We were taken in hand if I recollect aright by one of the sergeants of the 16th Reg't that he might ascertain how much or how little we knew of the art of war. It did not take him long to find out for his third or fourth command, which was to "Right about form Company", threw us into such inextricable confusion that we were promptly consigned to the lowest "rung" of the military ladder, the Awkward Squad. Here we passed some toilsome days in learning the balance step (or "goose step") under the eye of a being, incapable of feeling,

with lungs of brass, and powers of perception and criticism such as we had never hitherto encountered.

One thing at a time was the inexorable rule of the school, and this one thing must be practised until it wore a channel in the brain. As to when the point of perfection was reached—that consummation "devoutly to be wished for"—our instructor was the sole judge, arbiter, and court of appeal. So, for some time the shed reverberated with cries of "one," "two," "three," "forward," "steady number two" and so forth ad libitum.

Here we ascertained "that the first and great position of a soldier is the exact squareness of the shoulders and body to the front, while the heels must be in line and closed and the toes turned out so as to form an angle of 45 degrees." We went through a course of etiquette, learning to distinguish the many ranks of the British army, and the exact amount of ceremony to be accorded to each, when to turn out the guard, when to present arms, how to distinguish the school master from the sergeant-major and the intricacies pertaining to grand rounds. Our dress, if I may use such an unmilitary term, was not expensive or gaudy--a red serge tunic and blue trousers, a japanned leather stock, a button stick, a forage cap specially devised to encourage sunstroke, a belt and bayonet and some cents worth of pipe clay, formed the essential features of the costume. We soon learned to secure the aid of the drummers and band boys of the 16th Regt. to block our caps into the shape of flower pots and to give that combination of high polish and silk-like elasticity to our cartridge boxes, which seems to be the secret of the British soldier, handed down for many generations. We could not buy the formulae, but we could purchase the services of our accomplished young friends.

Considering the time that had to be given to the elementary knowledge, I have often wondered, how, in the course of about three months, so much subsequent instruction could be imparted It would need a soldier to fully apprehend what this meant. After a long course without weapons, we had to learn every use that an Enfield rifle in the muzzle loading days could be put to--shouldering, sloping and presenting, loading on the feet, on the knees and on the run, in all positions and under all circumstances until the Company arrived at that state of automatic precision, which elicited a faint grunt of approval from the insatiable being who taught us. All the mysteries of guard mounting had to be familiar as household words as well as the formation of front and rear guards, etc. If the morning were particularly hot, we passed the time under a blazing sun in skirmishing, occasionally wading a creek, advancing, retiring, forming rallying squares and doing all at a high rate of speed and discomfort.

The theory was that a captain of a company should not only know his own duties but that of every subordinate, lieutenant, sergeant, corporal and private in his command. With that object

we had occasionally to chase about after the officer of the day at the military barracks rushing violently after him to see after the beef and vegetables which formed the rations of the troops, scampering up many pairs of stairs at meal times to know whether there were any complaints concerning the menu, and invariably hearing that there were none, and now and then attending an incomprehensible lecture by the colonel in which the inner workings of the military machine were opened unto us. In this school book learning was very little relied on. All our knowledge was comprised within a very small square red volume, our one source of wisdom, which we studied by the simple method of getting much of it bodily by heart and repeating it day by day in drilling the squads occasionally entrusted to us.

Now, consider that within the space of ten weeks, or let us say 300 hours, all this knowledge had to be rubbed into us in such a way that it would not rub out, and you can form an idea as to why our teachers had to labour as scrupulously and faithfully as they did. This method of instruction has been thoroughly tested. How many thousands of British soldiers have gone through this mill who can say.? There is no teacher like necessity, no improver like repetition.

Let me try and describe some of the men who did the work. They were men of different traits of character and qualifications but they were all fine fellows, thorough soldiers and temperate, capable and kind-hearted men. Most of them were sergeants of the 16th Regiment, two were corporals and one an intelligent private soldier. One or two superior officers looked on occasionally, as it were, from afar.

Sergeant Reynolds was a fine tall broadshouldered Englishman with impressive whiskers. His manly breast bore the Queen's medals. His expression was always cheery and his light cane in constant motion. Nothing seemed to ruffle his good natured physiogonomy. If we did a thing wrong we were simply requested to do it again and again until we did it right.

Corporal Flowers was rather a small sized man, a bit of a character, severe in his strictures, wont to unbend a little after business hours though during those hours he had the inpenetrable gaze of the Egyptian sphinx, and his utterances were of an extremely deliberate, slow, and drawling nature. As we tramped up and down the rink I think I can still hear his monotonous "left," "left," punctuating our measured footsteps. The proverb says that comparisons are odious, certainly some of Corporal Flowers' were—"Ah, there you go one arter another like Mother Brown's c-aows." Certainly the Corporal never fed us with flattery, far from it—but we waxed wiser under his ministrations.

There was a big Irish corporal named M'Devitt. His great ambition was eventually to join the Brigade of Guards. M'Devitt was a noble specimen of the Irish soldier, of almost herculean strength,—quickwitted, genial and courageous. As for his wit,

he seemed to use the awkward squad as a sort of an oilstone for keeping it on edge. But his sarcasm was like sheet lightning, brilliant but harmless. The twinkle of his eye always took the sting from his tongue. He had no favorites and none were mere butts for his jocularity. Alas, I fear time "which takes on trust our youth, our joys, and all we have," has, ere this, put an end to the Corporal's moderate military aspirations.

I must just mention the fine dignified Sergeant-Major Hunt—the man mainly responsible for the success of the school. A sergeant-major of a British regiment must be an exceptional man. Sergeant-Major Hunt seldom spoke, but none of his words fell to the ground. His smile was just a lighting up of his intelligent and observant eyes, and personally I admired him much. I remember one day when an unexpected visit of a somewhat plethoric and fiery adjutant led me to make some mistake, or hesitate in giving a necessary explanation. The Adjutant expressed such utter hopelessness concerning my future military career that I felt quite overcome by his words, but a quiet word afterwards from the Sergeant-Major reassured me and led me to see that it was customary to allow a large discount to the Adjutant's opinions.

At the time when I was attending the school I was a student in the office of Messrs. Becher, Barker & Street, and of all the inmates then of that establishment, I think now only Mr. Barker and myself are surviving.

Between the requirements of the law office and the school, aided by a little study in the evening, I put in a pretty full day's work. It might be roughly mapped out as follows: I arose at half past five and after a hasty brush, wash, and breakfast, hastened to the drill shed where the bugle was often blowing the Assembly as I rushed through the gates. After a short inspection about 20 minutes were devoted to physical exercises, which, as the morning was probably hot, got us in a fine glow. Half an hour of company drill or platoon exercises and a full hour of skirmishing brought us to nine o'clock, and there was another hour of arduous exercise to ten. I passed the time from ten to four copying pleadings, filling up deeds, and the many other odds and ends of labour familiar to the disciples of Blackstone. From half-past four until seven we attended at the drill shed and I may say that after these experiences no farmer ever slept sounder than I did.

But I must conclude this little sketch. At last the day of examination came, but what form the ordeal would take was completely hidden from me and what fate would be likely to befall me it was likewise impossible to discover. Except through our instructors we had not hitherto had much to do with the regular troops, but on what I may call the day of destiny, we found that we had to exhibit our knowledge, or lack of it, by taking charge of a full company of regular troops of the 16th Regiment in what is known as "heavy marching order," as resplendent and

glittering as brushes, button stick pipeclay, and blacking could make them. Our old friend the Adjutant was there with a countenance nearly as radiant as his scarlet tunic, and various other dignitaries of lesser degree. We had not long to wait but were called upon in succession to put the company through various manoeuvres, which right or wrong they executed like automatic machines.. Thanks to the great pains which had been taken with us most of us executed the tasks assigned creditably. It was just like touching so many springs, for as soon as the order was given the necessary commands instantly suggested themselves to the mind. However a few cadets fell by the wayside, and were returned to the competent hands of Flowers & Co., to have the requisite knowledge more firmly pounded into them.

The benefits derived from this course were very considerable. It had, in the first place, a decidedly good effect on the health. The first week was very painful but after that the system became inured to five hours hearty exercise per diem. The constant habit of prompt and unquestioning obedience is very useful and soon becomes a source of real pleasure. The spirit of order and respect, and the almost perfect arrangements for foreseeing and providing for every contingency are also most valuable.

Professor James, the eminent psychologist, said, "I definitely believe in the ultimate reign of peace and in the gradual advent of some socialistic equilibrum, but I do not believe that peace either ought to be or will be permanent on this globe unless the states pacifically organized preserve some of the old elements of army discipline. We must make new energies and hardihoods, continue the manliness to which the military mind so faithfully clings. The martial type of character can be bred without war."

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